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# National Intelligence Bulletin

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#### TURKEY

The Turkish government is beginning to implement its decision to take control of US bases and has asked for assurances that operational activity at the bases has been suspended. Turkish officials still do not seem sure about the extent to which they want to modify defense relations with the US, however, and they are leaving themselves room for maneuver.

Operations related to the primary mission of four US-run common defense installations ceased yesterday in response to the Turkish note of July 25. All activity at the Incirlik installation is continuing, however, because of the difficulty in distinguishing between NATO-related activities—which are permitted by the Turkish note—and others that are prohibited. Other US installations and facilities are continuing to operate normally.

Turkish commanders are set to take over control of the four designated installations tomorrow. The director general for international security affairs told Ambassador Macomber yesterday that instructions to Turkish commanders are for them to treat US military personnel as "members of a friendly and allied force."

A complete set of the instructions to the commanders has been forwarded to US military personnel and is being translated. US officials in Turkey are particularly concerned that the Turks will insist on having access to highly sensitive areas within the installations.

According to a Turkish radiobroadcast, the Turkish government has called for an extraordinary meeting of the NATO Council to explain its actions against the US bases.

Operations at the bases continued through Saturday, when it appeared that the government—having made a major publicity impact by its announcement of the suspension and takeover—would refrain from zealously implementing its decision. An inquiry by the acting chief of the General Staff about the status of operational activity on Saturday, however, led to the suspension of operations yesterday, lest the Turks get further upset and become less flexible in the forthcoming negotiations.

Turkish officials have thus far been vague about other steps they will take. For example, the director general for international security affairs told the ambassador yesterday that the extent of the shutdown did not "exceed" Turkish requirements, but he did not elaborate. Nor did he comment when the ambassador informed him that the cessation of operational activity had been delayed by a day, and that all activities were continuing at Incirlik.

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Prime Minister Demirel appears to have left the details of altering Turkey's defense relationship with the US in the hands of the Turkish General Staff. The General Staff has usually argued for moderation in reacting to the embargo, but pique may cause them to take actions that may be difficult to reverse when passions cool.

According to a preliminary embassy assessment, the ability of the US forces to carry out their mission will depend as much on the zeal with which the new restrictions are interpreted and carried out as on the restrictions themselves.

Reaction by the political opposition and press has been one of outrage at the decision of the US House of Representatives to continue the embargo. The opposition has given grudging approval to the moves of the Demirel government against the bases. Principal opposition leader Ecevit called for even stronger measures and for a general review of Turkish foreign policy.

Turkish foreign policy.

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#### PORTUGAL.

The formation of an executive triumvirate in Portugal is probably intended to bridge the three opposing currents in the ruling military, but it is more likely to increase the differences among them. The triumvirate is unlikely to repair the deep divisions in the country as a whole or to solve Portugal's critical domestic problems.

Differences between security chief Otelo de Carvalho and Prime Minister Goncalves—who appeared to emerge from the Armed Forces General Assembly deliberations on Friday in the strongest positions—appear to be unbridgeable. This is probably also the case for Otelo and the third member of the triumvirate, President Costa Gomes, who appealed in the assembly meeting for a slowdown in the revolution because it was out of touch with the people.

Reaction to the triumvirate from the Communists has been lukewarm at best, suggesting that they may be apprehensive about the elevation of Otelo—whom they have good reason to fear—to such a position of authority.

It must also be evident to the Communists not only that their future is linked with that of Goncalves, but also that the moderates—both in the military and in the democratic parties—are not ready to capitulate.

It is unclear what the next move by moderate military officers will be. Seeing that their effort to unseat Goncalves would fail in the radical-dominated assembly meeting, key moderate officers refused to attend, in spite of entreaties by Costa Gomes and others. Instead, they held their own meeting at the Foreign Ministry.

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Both the Socialists and the moderate leftist Popular Democratic Party have expressed opposition to the new triumvirate. The Socialists have sought to identify closely with the moderate, pro-Western remarks made by Costa Gomes during the assembly. Both the Socialists and the Popular Democrats have denounced the new governing body as illegal.

Socialist Party leader Soares yesterday called on President Costa Gomes to break away from the triumvirate and form a government. Charging that the junta is illegal, Soares said only the President could unify and save the nation from a radical leftist dictatorship. Soares spoke at a party rally in a northern port city.

The rally was peaceful, but a Socialist protest rally on Saturday night in Evora—some 75 miles east of Lisbon—was attacked by the Communists, resulting in dozens of injuries. Portuguese troops were required to intervene as some 6,000 Socialists and Communists battled with clubs and rocks.

Catholics in the far northern town of Braganca defied the military yesterday by holding a rally protesting the seizure of the church radio.

The Popular Democrats were said to be planning a rally on the island of Madeira, which, according to one unconfirmed press account, is rumored to be considering a declaration of independence.

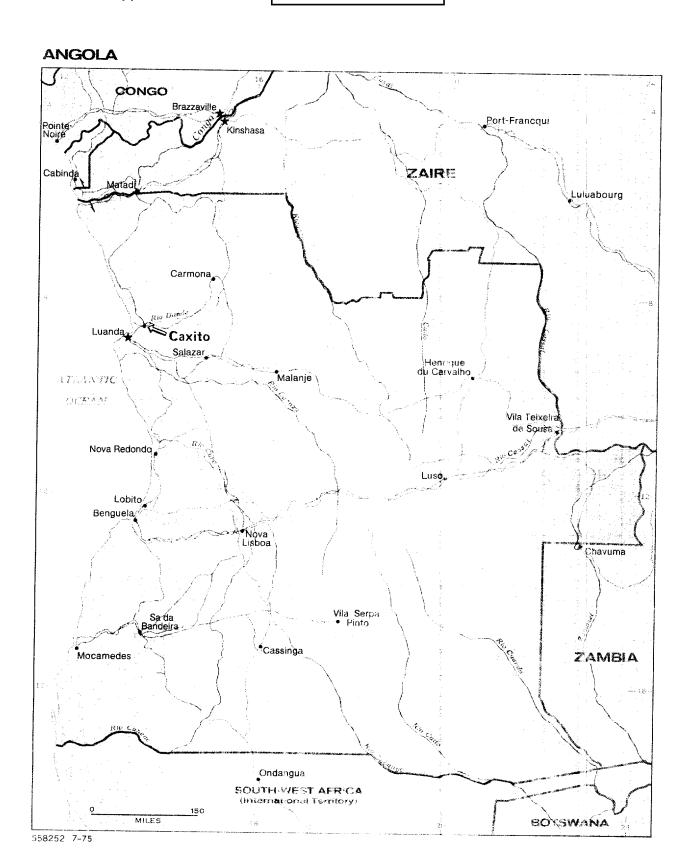
Whether the triumvirate can succeed in temporarily bridging its differences may become clearer when—and if—a new cabinet is announced today or tomorrow. Any

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# respite seems likely to be brief, given the continuing turmoil in the country, the economic problems which are expected to come to a head in the next few weeks, and problems in the Azores and Angola.

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#### **ANGOLA**

The National Front for the Liberation of Angola does not appear to have advanced much beyond the town of Caxito, which it captured late last week, despite rumors in Luanda that Front forces will soon enter the city.

The Front's ability to move on Luanda may in part be determined by logistic support from Zaire and the results of fighting under way elsewhere in Angola with forces of the rival Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola.

A high-ranking Front official said over the weekend that the Front would not enter Luanda in force but would try to provide relief to its remnants that are besieged in several locations on the outskirts of the city. He said the Front intended to seal off Luanda and would then try to negotiate the removal of rival forces from the city.

The Portuguese are now a key factor. The Portuguese high commissioner told the US consul general on Saturday that a policy of strict neutrality would be upheld, implying that the Front's efforts would not be opposed. He said, however, that he doubted that the Front has the strength to enter Luanda. The Portuguese have switched signals since last week, when the Portuguese commander had ordered his troops to establish a perimeter around the city to protect it against an offensive by the Front.

In anticipation of renewed fighting in Luanda, the British have closed their
consulate and evacuated their officials and a number of American and European
esidents.

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#### **CUBA - LATIN AMERICA**

Two events tomorrow will underline a changed relationship between Cuba and the rest of Latin America.

The OAS seems certain to move to unburden inter-American affairs of the divisive Cuba sanctions issue. The resolution being offered to the OAS foreign ministers convening in San Jose, Costa Rica, will grant freedom of action to Rio Treaty signatories regarding their conduct of relations with Cuba.

This action by the OAS would ignore the substance of the charges levied against Havana in 1964 and merely relieve members of the treaty obligations concerning the Castro regime. Relations with Cuba would then become a bilateral matter rather than one dictated by the OAS. Although the resolution does not address the character of the Cuban government, the effect for all practical purposes will be to end Latin America's ostracism of Castro.

The other event will take Castro's government beyond the somewhat neutral status to be granted by the OAS. About 15 governments, including Cuba, will send representatives to Panama to create a purely Latin American economic association that in some ways will parallel the OAS. Cuba will become one of the founding members.

Despite its obviously improved situation in the region, Cuba remains a long way from respectability in Central and South America. Strongly anti-communist governments—particularly Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay—will continue to regard Castro as a pariah. Other governments, though less hostile, are cool toward Havana and will critically examine Cuba's conduct within Latin organizations such as the new economic group.

One of the economic association's functions will be to serve as a forum where the Latin and Caribbean governments can work out their differences so that unified positions can be presented to the US in the OAS. The association will extend membership to governments now excluded from the OAS, such as Guyana. Georgetown has been denied OAS membership because of its territorial dispute with Venezuela. The same impediment will apply to British Honduras, when it becomes independent, because of its problems with Guatemala. The new organization, unimpeded by such considerations, could become a more practical vehicle for multilateral relations among the Latin and Caribbean governments.

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CHILE

Left-wing Christian Democratic Party exiles recently met in Venezuela with moderate leaders of former president Allende's coalition and called for the creation of a broad front to oppose the military government in Chile. The meeting is sure to intensify Santiago's distrust of civilian politicians.

The Christian Democrats—Bernardo Leighton, Renan Fuentealba, and Gabriel Valdes—were acting on their own, and their participation reportedly embarrassed their party's leadership in Santiago. The party, like other political groups, is "in recess" and on poor terms with the government. Leighton and Fuentealba were expelled from the country for their outspoken criticism of the regime.

The Christian Democratic Party's legal existence has been in question ever since former president Frei publicly criticized the junta's economic policies last month. Frei's statements evoked a strong reaction from the junta and raised rumors that the government would exile him.

President Pinochet's right-wing advisers purportedly have urged him to outlaw the remaining parties. One of the right-wingers, Alvaro Puga, suggested last Monday that Leighton and Fuentealba are traitors and should be deprived of their citizenship. The junta can be expected to seize whatever slim evidence it can to substantiate charges of an antigovernment conspiracy and justify tougher action against its critics.

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#### SOUTH KOREA

President Pak's opponents have reacted sharply to his veto of an opposition-sponsored bill that would have required government officials to testify before the National Assembly.

The bill passed with bipartisan support early this month, but the government has had second thoughts, saying that the measure could compromise national security information. Opposition assemblymen are eager to regain the power to question government officials—a prerogative taken away from the assembly by the authoritarian 1972 constitution.

A spokesman for the opposition New Democratic Party charged over the weekend that Pak's veto changes the government-opposition relationship from one of growing dialogue back to confrontation. In order to deal with the situation, New Democratic Party leader Kim Yong-sam abruptly canceled a planned trip to Southeast Asia.

Prime Minister Kim Chong-pil is attempting to smooth things over, proposing compromise language for the bill. The government will probably be able to prevent a major resumption of open political dissent. Pak's opponents have generally muted their criticism since the communist victories in Indochina in the spring.

The reaction to	the the	veto	points	up	again	that	political	restiveness	is not far	
below the surface.										

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#### **USSR-UN**

Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko told Ambassador Stoessel in Moscow on Friday that the USSR will attempt to avoid taking a position on the question of Israeli expulsion from the UN and is strongly opposed to any reform of the UN Charter.

Gromyko said Moscow had had no firm advance warning of Arab intentions to press for Israel's expulsion. He argued that any General Assembly decision to exclude Israel—either by expulsion or by suspension—would be contrary to the UN Charter.

The foreign minister said the Israeli matter shows how careful the US and USSR must be in dealing with proposed revisions of the charter. He said it is necessary to preserve the UN Charter as it stands, and asserted that sympathetic US responses to revisions proposed in the past had been a "mistake." He also reiterated Moscow's view that Israel should seek its security in the territorial guarantees of the "strongest powers," among whom he clearly included the USSR.

Gromyko s Assembly but w	aid he will not	be attending the present for the	e special session of t regular session, which	the General begins on
September 16.				
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**SPAIN** 

The new center-left political group formed last month has followed up its denunciation of the Franco regime by outlining a political program.

Agreement on the program was reportedly difficult to reach because of the diverse ideological views of the 16 parties and the many labor organizations in the coalition, which calls itself the Platform of Democratic Convergence. Its members range from moderate Christian Democrats to radical communists who think the Spanish Communist Party too temperate.

The US embassy in Madrid believes the group's very diversity will make it difficult to hold together. If it can, the Democratic Convergence may become a major political force in the post-Franco period, when it could serve as a counterweight to the Communist-dominated Democratic Junta formed in Paris last year.

The program details the group's goals. Rejecting the Franco regime and the imposed monarchical successor state on grounds that "dictatorship is not reformable and liberty is not negotiable," the group calls for a referendum to decide the form of the future government. The group strongly supports establishment of a federal state and the right of self-determination for all nationalities—a goal anathema to the armed forces.

specifically excludes those limiting "national the US-Spanish friendship agreement under v	I independence," a veiled reference to which the US maintains bases in Spain.
This reference implies that any base agreem would be reviewed in the post-Franco period.	ents concluded by the present regime

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